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ONE MORE

LETTER

TO THE

PEOPLE of ENGLAND.

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By their OLD FRIEND.

“ Amidst the wealthy City Murmurs rise,
“ Loud Railings, and Reproach.” ROWE.
“ ’Tis now the very Crisis of your Fate :
“ By me your Genius speaks ; by me it
“ Warns ye.” *ibid.*

“ ————— Judge me not ungentle,
“ Of Manners rude, and insolent of Speech,
“ If, when the public Welfare is the Question,
“ My Zeal flows warm and eager from my Pen.”

ibid.

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ONE MORE LETTER TO THE PEOPLE of ENGLAND.

[By their Old Friend.]

THOUGH the people of England may not be ignorant of the various particulars with which this my last letter commences, yet my countrymen will see the necessity of so brief a recapitulation, in order for the more properly discussing those important points which I shall then bring upon the carpet.

No sooner was the last peace concluded, than the French discovered their perfidious intention of kindling up a new war in America. The court of Versailles, under pre-

tence of an uncertainty in the article of the treaty relative to the boundaries of Acadia or Nova Scotia, not only made themselves masters of the disputed territories, but also built forts on those of our acknowledged provinces ; debarred our merchants from trading, as usual, with the Indians in amity with us ; imprisoned some of them, brought them ~~in~~ chains to France, and incited their Indian dependents to lay waste our plantations, and pillage, murder, and torture our planters, without the least regard either to age, sex, or condition. Every province, and almost all of them at the same time, suffered the most unheard-of cruelties inflicted on them by a set of merciless savages, acting under the command of inhuman Frenchmen disguised like Indians, and supported in the strongest manner by all their countrymen of the *half-breed**. The cries of our oppressed Americans reached, it is true, their mother-country ; they were heard, they were promised to be removed ; nevertheless, for the space of some years, relief was sent so slowly and ineffectually, that our power in the western world was on the point of being annihilated for ever.

* The French term those the half-breed, whose parents are one of them an European (or of an European family) and the other an Indian.

The most vigorous measures were, however, at last resolved upon, and orders were issued, by the court of London, for the seizing of French ships where-ever they could be met with, bringing them into our ports, and detaining them there, by way of deposit, till it appeared whether the French monarch was to be prevailed upon, in the way of negotiation, to repair our injuries, and do us that national justice which the nature of our case demanded, and which, notwithstanding the most earnest and repeated solicitations, he had hitherto seemed very much indisposed to grant.

The court of Versailles, instead of being engaged by this step to listen more attentively to our equitable representations, pretended to be enraged at this most justifiable measure; and was pleased to stigmatize, as an infringement on the law of nations, a procedure which their own refractory conduct, that had bidden defiance to the laws of God and the dictates of humanity, had rendered absolutely necessary.

This measure, instead of producing the desired effect, became the signal for the commencement of open hostilities between the two nations. The war on our part proceeded very slowly. Accounts from various

quarters were timely received of the designs of France on the island of Minorca ; nevertheless, through an indolent supineness, an unwarrantable incredulity, or a heartless timidity, that highly *important*, because highly *useful* fortress, was shamefully suffered, by the then directors of the helm, to fall into the hands of the enemy. This loss, as it was at the very beginning of the war, greatly raised the spirits of our foes, and strongly invigorated their measures ; whilst, on the other hand, it threw an almost indelible stain on the British arms, and tended to enervate every sinew of its government. Our soldiers were discouraged, and our people distracted with rumours of invasions, flat-bottomed boats, and such-like fantastic chimaeras. Nay, our timorous ministry, unwilling to trust this naturally intrepid nation with the defence of all that they hold dear, thought fit to call in foreign mercenaries to save from slavery a people by Providence designed, and by valour qualified, to give laws to the globe. In one word, an universal despondency damped our spirits, and rendered abortive those languid endeavours which seemed to be dictated by the last remains of that heroic temper for which our glorious ancestors are so justly celebrated.

In the midst of this scene, by much too pungent to be dwelt upon, the patriot minister stepped forth to save his sinking country. Universally struck with the dread of that impending destruction which seemed to threaten our very existence as a free and independent nation, we gladly complied with the directions of England's guardian: The astonishing effects of his exalted genius and extensive intelligence appeared in each department of the state; and throughout the whole nation was diffused a well-founded hope of a most auspicious change in the success of public measures. The event fully confirmed the general opinion of his amazing abilities: The ships of the French were locked up in their harbours; and so judiciously were our cruisers stationed, that scarce a single one of those vessels, that had the temerity to venture out, could ever boast of entering again any of their own ports; Great Britain and her colonies were protected, whilst the settlements of her enemy on the continent of America, among the Western Isles, and in the farther India, were submitting to her victorious arms; their trade, as a commercial nation, falling to destruction; and their force, as a naval power, dwindling into nothing. In a word, our successes even kept the lead of our warmest expectations; and those very foes, who so lately were exulting

ulting in their conquests over *us*, were now mourning at our triumphs over *them*.

During these glorious operations, the Spaniards pretended to maintain a most strict neutrality, but in fact were acting a part most shamefully partial. The well-known affair of the Antigallican was not the only instance of their unjustifiable conduct: In the Gut of Gibraltar, and almost under the guns of our fortress, they protected and were sharers in divers French row-boats that watched for and frequently seized our merchant ships as they set in for the Mediterranean; and in various other ports of Spain they behaved in the same unwarrantable manner, aiding our enemies, sharing with them in our spoils, and sometimes even taking our ships when close within the Spanish shore: Nay, at St. Lucar, a French-Spanish privateer brought in eleven merchant ships, all unlawfully made prizes whilst they were land-locked in the very riyer. One of his Majesty's cutters was even seized in the harbour of Vigo; and the Spaniards frequently allowed our flag to be insulted there and at Cadiz. The crews of some of these privateers, as well as their owners, were altogether Spaniards. At length almost every mail brought an account of some new oppression or some new disgrace thrown on

our people in Spain by the prejudiced kindness of that haughty court to an inveterate enemy, with whom we were then engaged in a most just and necessary war. Remonstrances, by repeated experience, were found to be totally ineffectual; and, while our watchful minister was ruminating on the most certain means of asserting the honour of his country, and obtaining reparation to her injured subjects, he received indubitable intelligence of a secret treaty concluded between France and Spain, calculated to destroy our commerce, raise that of France on the ruins of ours, and enable our enemies once more to dispute with us the empire of the ocean, and the dominion of North America. By this intelligence his resolution was fixed. There appeared an absolute necessity to have recourse to arms against Spain, in order to vindicate our rights, and protect our merchants from any farther depredations. But as his advice was disregarded, and he could no longer serve his country in the high station to which he had been called by its unanimous suffrages, no course remained for him to take, for his own honour, but to leave an administration that he could no longer direct to those glorious ends which he had ever had in view.

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Another ministry succeeded, and war with Spain became unavoidable. But it was then entered upon under very great disadvantages. Spain had not only got home her treasures from the Indies, but had gained time to prepare herself against the impending storm.

But that universal concord which was the effect of the patriot's upright management, in a great measure retired with him. However, the strength that he had left in the public direction, exerted itself after his departure, in bringing to a happy end an expedition which he had planned against Martinico; and that invaluable island swelled the number of our national trophies.

In the mean time, our presaging fears broke out into universal animosities, and the press began to resound with our unnatural debates. One party extolled the measures of the former ministry, while the venal hirelings of another, *said* (though I am inclined to think *falsely* *said*) to be set to work by a great man, who is best known by the general disrespect which the public affect to bear him, not only repaid their antagonists with railing for railing, but infamously fell foul of the ENGLISH nation itself, whose greatest reproach is, her exuberant kindness, and extraordinary forbearance, to those her worthless

worthless and ungrateful sons ; who, while their veins swell with free-born blood, yet audaciously disgrace their original so far as to become the advocates of * * * * *, and treat this free and sagacious nation, as if they were the slaves of their own servants, the ministers of the public. Is it treason to differ in opinion from any fellow-subject, who, by the most fallacious reasonings, would endeavour to deceive us in the importance of our conquests, and basely attempt to convince us, that you, my countrymen, the people of England, are an ungovernable band of rebels, a turbulent and lawless mob, that will submit to no government, and yield no obedience to lawful authority ? And yet this very charge, heavy as it is ! has the scribbling tool of a party, the writer of the Briton, brought against ye—and all for what ? because, forsooth, ye cannot discover the utility of parting with our invaluable acquisitions to a deceitful and conquered enemy. An enemy whose veracity no wise man will trust ; a mean-spirited and tricking foe ; from whose ensnaring frauds we cannot be safe, otherwise than by depriving them of the power to hurt us. If they had behaved courageously, like men and like soldiers, compassion might have pleaded something on their behalf ; but what can be said for timid and pusillanimous enemies, who cannot ac-

quit themselves in the field, in any degree conformable to the character they pretend to? Enemies that cannot, in the presence of equal numbers, bear the fight of our flags or our standards, without instantly consulting their safety by a shameful, ignominious flight? Enemies that cannot entertain the generous resolution of nobly struggling and wresting from us by their sword, the extensive dominions of which we have so bravely stripped them; but meanly have recourse to artifice, to cunning, and to chicanery; to a reliance on their acknowledged superior talents in the infernal arts of entangling a generous-meaning conqueror in the various labyrinths of a perplexed negotiation; and, by such wily preheminence, trick us out of our principal dear-bought conquests, and what perhaps is still more hurtful to the British nation, a share of our fishing-trade on the banks of Newfoundland; a trade of more value than the mines of Peru! a trade that enriches our merchants, and nurses such heroes as those who conquered the Havannah! These are the presents the French expect from us, in return for all the blood we have spilled, the treasures we have wasted, the lives we have lavished, and the toils and dangers our heroic countrymen have undergone for these several years past! This is the reparation they think of making us, in return,

return for the barbarous murders committed on our people in America. Is England thus to reward the pillager, the ravager, the torturer, of her American subjects? must England feed thus and exalt her enemies? must she provide her rival in trade with a nursery for seamen? furnish them with the best and most valuable islands in the West-Indies? surrender to the Spaniards the western Gibraltar? must she thus nourish the seamen of her enemies, and thus enrich their merchants with her spoils? must we, my countrymen, be doomed, by perfidious France, to suffer these things, and yet be styled rebels to our country for repining and complaining?

During the patriot's administration, our allies on the continent of Europe were properly supported. The French, whose policy it is to prohibit commerce with us wherever their power extends, were checked in their all-grasping intentions in Germany, where we carry on many valuable branches of trade *. The Weser and the Elbe, while in the hands of the elector of Hanover, afford a passage for our Newfoundland fish, and

* As sufficiently appears by our exports to Bremen, Stetin, the Hans Towns, and other parts of that great continent.

merchandizes of all sorts, into the heart of that extensive inland country, where they always find a ready market and a high price. It would be endless to recount every advantage we reap from our access to those interior and retired provinces. It is enough to inform my countrymen, that at some seasons of the year, a herring will there fetch even the price of six-pence, and other fish as proportionably exorbitant. But if the French arms, and those of their allies, were permitted to over-run that continent, nothing but what is French will be permitted to be sold there. All our trade with Germany, Holland, and the Low Countries, would be totally cut off. Yet this rational measure, and the support thereby given to our German allies, so necessary for preserving our commercial interests, as well as a proper idea of our power, in those parts, were openly decried by these ignorant hirelings ; who, not knowing any thing of the various sources of our traffick, yet arrogantly assume to guide a nation, not more renowned for the greatness of its arms, than famous beyond all other kingdoms for the extensiveness of its commerce.

Mr. P—'s administration, so far as regarded the war, was most certainly not only blameless, but highly meritorious. By his
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confirming the old, and entering into a new and more enlarged treaty with Prussia, he encouraged and obliged France to continue a war, which assisted in exhausting her treasures, absolutely thinned her armies, and drew her attention, in a great measure, from the principal object we then had in view; namely, the conquest of Canada. Our dignity in the eyes of foreigners, and even in those of our enemies, was thereby increased, till France became sensible, that Britain, without the assistance of her naval power, is still able, by the skill of her generals, and the valour of her armies, to check her favourite scheme of universal monarchy.

But although the ministerial writers, before the breaking out of the Portuguese war, so strongly condemned all continental connections, yet the necessity of supporting so beneficial an ally as Portugal, appeared in so clear a light, that neither the present great man's (perhaps laudable) parsimonious disposition, nor the new revived anti-continenta doctrine, could prevail on the administration to permit our enemies to conquer that kingdom, and thereby deprive us of the valuable branches of trade we carry on with that power. For which consideration, the defence of his most faithful majesty was undertaken by our court: I wish I could also

add, that it appeared to me, that this important point had been duly attended to, with all the vigour an affair of that consequence required.

The king of Spain, though he strongly threatened, was not so speedy in his military operations, as he was forward in blustering. He began to discover his designs upon this country so early as the Month of Feb. last, but his troops did not enter the territories of Portugal till the beginning of May; yet, notwithstanding the tardiness of his measures, our supplies were embarked not only very sparingly, but, I think, very slowly.

The writers of the Auditor and the Briton have of a long time inveighed against the glorious conquests with which the Almighty has been pleased to bless the people of England, in prosecution of this just and necessary war, and given us to understand, that these invaluable acquisitions are regarded by their patrons in an odious light, being estimated by them as so many obstacles to just and moderate measures, and of no use but to furnish the opposers of a shameful peace; or, in their own words, the enemies of Europe's repose, with arguments to withstand the reasonable efforts of those able ministers, who, they tell us, desire nothing more ardently, than

than to see a glorious and universal peace restored to the European world.

My countrymen who are versed in the histories of former ages, are not to be informed, that when any disagreeable measures were on the anvil, it was the general practice of the great men in power, through the means of prostituted hirelings, to usher in the unacceptable news, by decrying the present situation of affairs, and publicly advising measures, as matters of their own opinion, which were privately dictated to them by their employers. I do not take upon me to say, how far, or by whom, or whether at all, those infamous writers, the authors of the Auditor and the Briton, have been corrupted to depreciate our conquests, and particularly those in the Western world: I should rather hope, and am not altogether disinclined to believe, that they are their own officious sentiments. But certain it is, their language has justly alarmed the friends of Great Britain, and given them great cause to fear that the patrons of these scribblers, if patrons they have, thereby intended properly to prepare the minds of the people; and that these discourses are to be followed by the publication of articles whereby our important Western acquisitions are to be restored to a conquered, a beggared, and a ruined enemy; and

and that England, though every where triumphing over her vanquished enemies, possessed of the key of their treasures, blessed by heaven with a more powerful fleet, better sailors, and more valiant soldiers, shall yet, notwithstanding these glorious distinctions, stoop to a precarious peace ; and, finally, that, for the sake of obtaining, what she never can have, the lasting friendship of the house of Bourbon, despoil herself of gifts, which heaven, for the universal benefit of the human race, has thought fit to confer upon her ; and thereby part with conquests whose value, to be sold, supposing purchasers could be found for them, far exceeds the whole of her national debt ; and which, if kept, are still of much greater consequence to her.

The exports of Guadalupe, arising from its own produce, and brought into British ports, amount to near a million of money yearly, as appears by our custom-house books ; besides this, what is annually carried into our plantations on the continent of America ; the value of the slaves purchased by the inhabitants of that island ; and the benefit arising to the national manufactures, from their consumption of British commodities ; amount in the whole to a very considerable ballance, in favour of this kingdom. It is also

also to be considered, that this island is daily improving, and in our hands will increase more quickly than it could do under French administration. Our laws and rules of government allowing greater liberty to the planters, and consequently granting to them more opportunities to acquire riches, than they possibly could have under those cramping regulations which are observed wherever the dominion of the house of Bourbon extends.

Should that island again belong to France, the produce of the planter's farm, as soon as it is severed from the ground, must be carried (as it always used to be) to the king's warehouse, and brought to Europe, in the custody, and under the inspection, of his most christian majesty's officers; who dispose of it by direction of the court of Versailles, and return to the planter what they think proper. This is a fact on which my countrymen may absolutely rely. But in our colonies, the planters are at all times masters of their own, and may take every opportunity of an advantageous offer that comes in their way.

There is another great advantage attending the islands subject to British laws, that

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the plantations belonging to France and Spain are utterly deprived of, and which greatly accelerates their improvement, and redounds to the immediate advantage of the inhabitants, as well as the emolument of ourselves ; namely, that all foreigners are not only allowed the privilege, but are invited to settle and trade with us, without being subject to painful enquiries respecting their religious principles, or any other injurious restraint whatever. So that the American plantations, in our hands, become, in fact, the property of the human race in general ; and are quickly filled, without dispeopling the mother-country. These settlers are consequently proud of the new distinction they acquire, by being incorporated with this free and respectable kingdom ; chearfully submit to our equitable laws, and are ready, on all occasions, vigorously to defend a constitution from which they reap such important benefits. Their families affect our customs ; their children are emulously fond of our language ; and in a generation or two they cannot be distinguished from the descendants of Britain. From this cause it is that our plantations are filled with an incredible rapidity, while England increases also in wealth and in numbers.

As I have mentioned a matter so new as the increase of the people of England, I hope it may not be improper to leave my subject for a little while, important as it is, in order to lay before the publick my reasons for maintaining a point so opposite to common opinion.

If we peruse the histories of the reign immediately preceding those in which the migrations to America commenced, we shall find that the then parliaments loudly complained of the decay of the antient boroughs, of the low state of agriculture, and the immense flocks of sheep that were every-where *pastured* in England, which is an animal that is best nourished on *dry* and *barren* lands. The English boroughs were then fallen into decay, and since that time some of them have recovered, and are recovering, their antient appearance. Many of them are greatly enlarged; several barren heaths reduced into corn-fields, or filled with villages, and farm-houses; more corn, large cattle, and provisions of all sorts, multiplied in England, yet greatly rising in price. All these are incontestible circumstances, which, put together, plainly prove, that the number of houses and consumers in our country is greatly increased since the Reformation, notwithstanding the numbers who since that time

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have gone to America. Besides, if we may credit the account of our historians, concerning the numbers of sensible men in England in those times, we are perfectly certain, that our native country, since then, must be greatly increased in point of inhabitants; for so late as the reign of Henry VII. the number of men in London and Westminster, able to bear arms, amounted to 15,000 only; and now Westminster of herself alone could muster many more, out of houses built on fields where corn has grown, even within the memory of man.

But to return from whence we have made this digression.—Guadalupe (as I have mentioned before) appears, from the custom-house books, to be an uniformly increasing estate, yielding at present to this nation above a million a year, and likely in a very short time to double its produce. Martinico we have had but a short trial of, yet may reasonably suppose, that the profits of that island will at least equal, though I may say greatly exceed, those arising from the other; as the inhabitants are every whit as opulent, and the island as equally well settled. It is entirely incredible to suppose that the demands from Martinico, and the imports from thence, can be less than those from Guadalupe; as no probable reason can be assigned, why

two islands, equally large, equally fertile, equally populous, and under the very same climate, should any way differ in the value of their productions.

The last and greatest of our glorious conquests, is the key of the West Indies, the rich and extensive island of Cuba ; whose value is inestimable. If we examine its soil, its climate, its productions, and its situation, we must admit, that history does not afford us an account of any nation that ever made a more important conquest. The climate is so healthy, and the air so salubrious, that this island has universally obtained the title of the Montpellier of the West Indies.

All the valuable productions of the torrid zone are here to be had in the greatest abundance, and the utmost perfection ; the choicest gums, odoriferous spices, and costly drugs, are to be found in its woods ; the soil is perhaps the richest known in nature ; the ground produces its gifts without any labour, and the only requisite trouble is the guarding them from the excursions of the wild cattle ; of which, for food, there is exceeding plenty, as well as of hogs, and various sorts of game ; and the rivers are amply stocked with the finest fish. There is too, one very important consideration in favour

vour of this highly useful and delightful spot ; namely, none of the dreaded inhabitants of our uncultivated wilds upon the continent, are to be seen here ; there is not one Indian, nor is there a Rattle-snake, or other deadly creature, in all the island to disturb or destroy the unwary traveller.

Its situation, whilst we hold it, renders it totally impossible for the Spanish ships to trade between Spain and Mexico, California, or South America, otherwise than by a long, tedious, and dangerous navigation, through the South seas ; where they will be also greatly exposed to our ships of war and privateers. Peru and Mexico are laid open to our inroads ; and the coasts of Florida, and the opulent islands of Hispaniola and Porto Rico are entirely at our mercy.

The number of inhabitants now upon this island, and the incredible richness of the planters, not only immediately open to us a prodigious market for European goods, but that demand will always be increasing by the croud of settlers who will flock thither from various quarters of the globe, in order to partake in the profits arising from so pleasant, healthy, and convenient a situation for traffick of every sort ; and to enjoy the fruits of their industry under the inestimable advantages

vantages of English laws ; where every man's property, and personal liberty, are fully secured to him by barriers which neither honour, justice, nor our excellent constitution, will ever suffer to be broken.

In a few words, if Cuba were to be annexed to the British crown (and who is there could tear it from us?) we should for ever have a most prodigious consumption of, and a high price for, all the commodities we sent thither ; whether manufactured in the three kingdoms, in any of our colonies, or purchased from abroad ; and, thereby, thousands of our industrious poor fully employed, and comfortably maintained. Besides which, if we add the exceedingly extensive imports we should make from thence (and those too without injuring any of our other settlements) the increased revenues to the government would be, in a very few years, absolutely immense, and more than answer for the whole loss of our trade with Spain.

Having now briefly narrated the rise of the war, and the value of our conquests, I shall now proceed, my countrymen, to lay down such considerations as will shew the nature of that peace which would permanently tend to the service of the belligerant powers in general, and ourselves in particular :

lar: such a peace as would utterly incapacitate our enemies to disturb our harmony at home, pillage our plantations, or interrupt our commerce hereafter: such a peace as is conformable to our commercial interests, and the united voice of the nation, and would be gladly accepted of by our enemies, in case they did not hope, by their refinements in politics, to over-reach our negotiators.

As the oppressions of our planters on the continent of America first gave rise to the war, it is absolutely necessary that such regulations should, in the first place, be established, as may prevent the like miseries for the future. And, in order to obtain this salutary purpose, it is not only proper that the French be for ever excluded out of North America, but that the limits between the British and Spanish colonies on that continent, be settled by boundaries that cannot be mistaken; and that a large uninhabited waste, in that immense tract, consisting at least of two degrees, or one hundred and twenty nautical miles, be every where described between their respective dominions, and in which void (if I may so call it) it shall not be lawful for either party to settle. The encroaching nature of the French makes it absolutely necessary to banish them off that

that continent intirely; and the projected large uninhabited wild between the English and Spaniards will prevent all sudden heats and hasty quarrels, and leave no room for disputes between the subjects of the two crowns concerning property and boundaries.

Our next consideration ought to be, our allies on the continent, who have all behaved with a becoming fidelity. In the first place, we ought not to neglect that opportunity which Providence presents us with, of raising in his Prussian majesty an unsurmountable barrier against the growing power of the house of Bourbon on the continent of Europe. We should never forget that France discourages and excludes our commerce where-ever her arms and influence can prevail, and that she is for-ever restless in forming schemes calculated to monopolize for herself every branch of traffick; and that we can no-way so well oppose in Germany this our natural rival, as by encouraging the Prussian hero to continue in perfect amity with ourselves, and thereby wholly detach him from the friendship of that aspiring family.

The prince of Hesse is also well intitled to our particular care. The subjects of this prince ought to be fully indemnified by the

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French king, and his serene highness himself amply rewarded for his extraordinary fidelity, when his dominions were subjected to the most lamentable circumstances. It is most certainly our duty as well as our interest to increase to the utmost of our power the dignity and importance of this most serene family ; for which purpose, we should procure for his highness a seat in the electoral college, together with a greater extension of dominion and revenue, in order to support this new accession of honour with a becoming splendor. This provision for the prince of Hesse, and the settling of the Bohemian crown in the house of Brandenburg, would fully and effectually answer those ends which I proposed, as it would render two powers, by interest bound, sufficiently able to prevent the growth of French influence in the Germanic empire : The methods to effect these important propositions, and that without injuring any power whatever, I shall plainly shew hereafter.

When in Hesse and Prussia we have raised a power sufficient to check the progress of the court of Versailles in Germany, and thereby proved our dignity and importance in Europe, we ought also to give the world a demonstration of our naval superiority to the

the combined strength of France and Spain, by refusing to cede those valuable conquests with which the Almighty has been pleased to reward the valour of our undaunted compatriots.

But though I would have my country assert her dignity and unrivalled dominion on the ocean, yet I would not be understood to mean, that there are not other reasons, and those superior ones, in point of commercial advantages, for such an absolute refusal.

The condition of our sugar islands, now worn out and thinned (for want of manuring) by perpetual culture, and the consequent increased price demanded by the planters for their sugars, lay us under an indispensable necessity to retain Martinique and Guadalupe. The reason is self-evident; sugar-cane can be raised at almost one quarter of the trouble and expence that must be employed on the same quantity of ground in the sickly, and (compared with the others) sterile island of Jamaica. Although these sugars are inferior in colour to those of Jamaica, yet they excel them in sweetnes; and nothing can be more convenient for this commercial nation, than a complete assortment of that useful commodity; useful I call

it, because now so luxuriously become a necessary article of life. The sugars of Cuba will gratify the nicest eye and most delicate palate; while those of Guadalupe and Martinico will satisfy persons whose circumstances oblige them to take up with a cheaper commodity; and our antient colonies will furnish out the tables of those of middling fortune.

The utility of retaining all our insular acquisitions in the western world is so exceedingly obvious, that it is amazing, that the wit of man is able to suggest any pretence against so national a measure. But nevertheless, some there are who affirm, that the retention of these islands will oblige us to keep up so large a force to insure their obedience, that we shall reap no benefit from refusing to cede them.

In answer to this, I can assure my countrymen, that by much the greater part of the inhabitants of Martinico and Guadalupe are so perfectly well pleased with the change of their condition, that they have not the least inclination to return to their former master; and indeed, was it possible that they should act so totally inconsistent with that desire after civil and religious liberty which is so natural to the human breast, and

and which may be gratified where-ever British laws prevail, as to wish for such a change, yet this would be no argument for the giving up of either place ; as I can assert, from very good authority, that a single regiment constantly kept up in Martinico, and another in Guadalupe (the expence of which will be very inconsiderable for places of such vast importance) will be sufficient to support our government there. In regard to Cuba, the advantages arising from that invaluable island would even answer the expence (200,000 l. per annum) of ten regiments. To defray this, some public beneficial employment might be found there for the soldiers ; or a small duty might be laid on rum, sugar, and molasses, in the planter's hands, allowing him a drawback of the whole duties of so much of his stock as is imported into Great Britain.

It is equally idle to alledge, as the writers of the Auditor and Briton do, that the retention of these conquests will produce a confederacy of all nations against us. This is a mere chimæra ! for which there can be no manner of foundation, as there is no power in Europe, besides those of France and Spain, that are immediately interested in the matter—Nay, and even admitting [what is by no means the case], that all the mari-
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time powers (for no no others can have any thing to fear from it) should associate against us, their whole united force would not be able to cope with our navy.

The inference which these ministerial writers have thought fit to draw from these false propositions is, however, extremely alarming, as it strikes at the root of our civil and religious liberties. It is no other than the doctrine of despotic power; which the present government, I am certain, never authorized them to recommend to the people, and which the former are too truly British to adopt, even if it could be ever so easily put into execution. The assertions of these audacious writers are, " that it is proper to save us against our wills from the dangers into which we are desirous to plunge ourselves, by our unmeasurable ambition and insatiable avarice."

If what is asserted by these weekly disturbers of the public repose is to be regarded, it is lawful, nay necessary, at this period of time, to introduce into Britain an arbitrary power [how much must such unconstitutional propositions displease the best of princes!] by law enabled to contemn the opinion of our merchants; to despise the united sentiments of the magistracy of this great

great metropolis ; to hold them, when giving their advice, as an officious intruding mob, who are attempting to thrust themselves into a greater share of importance than is due to them in the public administration ; and finally, to controul the universal judgment of the nation with respect to the high concerns of peace and war.

Far be it from me, my countrymen, to form a wish of wresting the prerogative of making peace and war from the hands it is already in ; our constitution has placed it where your unanimous voice would have now lodged it, if the laws had never done it ; it is the birthright of the sovereign to proclaim the one, and declare the other ; it is the birthright of the people to offer their advice in both : As we are certain the prince will not stretch that prerogative beyond the intention for which it was given, the subject should be cautious not to carry the freedom of his speech beyond what truth and decency allow ; all within that pale is proper to be laid before the throne ; all beyond it, is prostituting the name of liberty, to veil over that of licentiousness ; and the presumption should be punished as it deserves.

Let us then, ye people of England, with decency declare our detestation of the doc-

trines broached by these wretched scribblers.—Doctrines so highly inconsistent with the respect justly due to names once reverenced by our mighty ancestors!—Doctrines utterly destructive of the glory and felicity of this kingdom!—Let us unite in favour of the respectable personages whom those infamous authors have attempted to vilify and traduce, and let us endeavour to prevail with those entrusted with the public concerns, to pay such a deference to their opinions as the importance of the case now under consideration requires; and to listen to their counsels, as being the genuine sentiments of a whole nation.

I must trespass, my countymen, a little longer on your patience, if dwelling on a subject of such great importance may be deemed trespassing, in order to shew the mischievous consequence of this argument of the Auditor's and the Briton's. Indeed, if there was any just foundation for that system which they have chosen to adopt, it is not fit that we or our posterity should reason on political subjects, or any public affairs whatever for the future, but be henceforth utterly deprived of that invaluable liberty of expressing our sentiments with a becoming boldness, and a decent spirit of true patriotism. In such a case, the opinion of those

the helm, and that of the prime minister in particular, ought always to determine our judgment, even though the most infamous of mankind should ever happen to climb (as has been the case in past ages) to that high and favoured station. In one word, if the reasoning of these writers is justifiable, we must no longer call ourselves by the much-revered and much-loved name of free-born Britons, but tamely submit to the most Israelitish slavery which any Egyptian officer of state shall chuse to impose upon us. I do not take upon me to say, I cannot even suppose, that the authors of such arbitrary tenets are patronized by any person in power; yet as such an assertion has been confidently propagated by most of the antiministerial writers, and as such assertion has not been disavowed (however untrue) by the supposed patron, a regard for our civil and religious liberties, for our most invaluable privileges, justifies an universal association to decry and expose doctrines so heterodox and retrograde to our happy constitution, and so pregnant with ruin to our posterity.

But perhaps, my countrymen, while I thus strive to promote the universal good of the community, to lay before you your real interests, and exhort you to tread in the foot-

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steps of your glorious ancestors ; to imitate the example of our heroic forefathers, who on every occasion were always ready to give the most signal proofs of their attachment to the principles of liberty and property engraven in their hearts, and indissolubly mixed with their vital marrow ; I must incur the resentment of the authors of the Auditors and Britons, and their supposed patron, if it is possible for them to have a patron ; I must subject myself to be treated as a madman ; because of my concurring with you in those patriotic principles on which these infamous authors stamp the designation of madness : But I hope you will consider, that an opposition to measures, when those measures are contrary to the general sense of the nation, is most intimately interwoven with our civil constitution, and most strongly blended with those principles on which that glorious revolution is founded, that happily bequeathed to us the illustrious family which has so long, and with so much justice and renown, swayed the sceptre over these happy kingdoms ; and that you cannot, without departing from the wise maxims of those heroes, give up that privilege which you derive from them of examining the public direction ; cautioning, when affairs of great importance are on the carpet, the servants of the public ; and giving your opinion of

their

their proceedings and acts of power in a decent and becoming manner, suitable to the character you bear of a polite and wise, as well as a free nation.

If we have a privilege at all, or in any case, to oppose an administration, we must be well intitled at all times to discuss our right to that opposition ; and then minutely to inquire whether such circumstances and conditions exist, as call on us to appear in behalf of our country, and rescue her from any real or apparent hazard. Tyrants only desire to abridge the freedom of their subjects in this respect ; and we can never dread our being deprived of such a valuable privilege, under a royal family whose accession to the throne arose from a spirited exertion of this very right ; and in the reign of a king who glories in the name of Briton, whose virtues in domestic life are an amiable example to his subjects, and whose great and noble sentiments in his public capacity bespeak him to be formed by Providence to reign only over a free and glorious people.

Thus secure in the best of monarchs, let us unite in despising and opposing any writers who may attempt to disperse doctrines that are the genuine offspring of despotism, the arbitrary sentiments of Turkish politics,

and the true and fundamental principles of Highland chieftainship. I am told the author of the Briton is a Scotchman—I believe no Englishman would recommend such a system—Does he think to write himself into favour? Surely there is not a North Briton in power would patronize so self-interested a scribbler! I rather fear he is some lurking emissary of our perfidious foe, who would endeavour to foment a difference between the natives of England and Scotland, and insidiously strive to throw an odium on a worthy and illustrious personage, by advancing doctrines which cannot but remind us, that the heads of the northern clans, in general, imbibe with their milk a set of supercilious delusions, totally inconsistent with all the arrangements necessary to be observed in every free state, and diametrically opposite to every principle revered by us. Our government is calculated for this salutary purpose, that the sage deliberations of our councils shall be as exactly as possible consonant with, but never contrary to, the voice of the nation. Those Lilliputian grandees, the northern chieftains, are taught to look on the bulk of mankind, the largest part of every nation, as beings in station so much beneath them, that a friendly communication with such inferior existences is intirely unsuitable to persons of their high rank, who,

who, by their elevated birth, are well intitled to despise, maltreat, and despotically govern, every person that cannot boast of such a lineage and connexions. What must be our fate, I repeat, my countrymen, what must be our fate, if one of these Lilliputian grandees, so brought up, should ever approach our * * * * *, or infect with his envenomed breath those resolutions that must, to latest posterity, fix the character of this generation.

Having sufficiently shewn the destructive tendency of these principles, I shall proceed to the grand subject of peace.

There never was even a tolerable peace made contrary to the universal conceptions of this kingdom; and there never was a time when England was more replete with men of sense and understanding; gentlemen by education, strength of genius, and solid learning, enabled to make a due judgment of the present circumstances of their own country, and those of their enemies; nor can any æra be fixed on, when the people were more unanimous than they now are to reject their enemies terms, unless the proposals be made with a due regard to the great advantages that have, during this long and bloody war, been gained by British valour.

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No peace can be advantageous to us, whereby we are deprived of our West Indian conquests, and consequently of the pecuniary resources which would soon discharge us from the enormous debts accumulated by acquiring them ; nor can any one be beneficial, which gives the French permission, *on any terms whatever*, to hold any settlement in the East Indies, as they will be thereby in the condition, when occasion offers, once more to cabal with the eastern rajas, and incite them to give a loose to the same most savage and inhuman passions which they with so much barbarity, and so fatally, discharged upon our unhappy countrymen at Calcutta. What Englishman can read the accounts of those inhumanities that have been practised by French influence on his countrymen in Asia and America, without feeling the strongest emotions of resentment against those who would advise such barbarous and destructive measures as might arm our enemies against us in the east, furnish them with fresh opportunities to renew the same cruelties, and once more to set up their abolished power in the western world ; while England is left to mourn that vast effusion of blood and treasure which have been lavished since the revolution, through the destructive schemes of the ambitious house of Bourbon.

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I would yet hope, my countrymen, that there does not breathe that Briton who would be weak enough to advise a restitution of so many dear-bought acquisitions ; and, in point of importance, more than Alexandrian or Cæsarian conquests.—And for what in return ?—For nothing !—I repeat it again, For nothing in return ! because the advantages of traffick *said* to be agreed to be ceded to us *are* nothing.

Will our enemies grant us settlements on the Bays of Honduras and Campeachy ? they cannot hinder us : these Bays are not theirs ; they belong to free and independent Indians, who are desirous of our settling amongst them, and will admit no Spaniards to be seen in their country. Will they give us Florida, and part of Louisiana ? we can take the whole, or any part, of these countries from them, when we please : Any one of our colonies, Virginia, for example, without the aid of the mother-country, is able, of herself, to make this conquest, whenever she is permitted. Will they renounce their claim to fish on the banks of Newfoundland ? our naval superiority debars them from appearing in those seas : in fact, they may as well pretend to grant us the Tower of London (and who is there disputes our exclusive right to that astonishing arsenal ?) as

to bestow on us the Bays of Campeachy and Honduras, or to allow us the sole and exclusive right of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland. Will they grant us the freedom of their ports to carry in our goods duty-free? a mighty concession indeed, to a nation that can blow those port-towns into the air whenever they please! a nation that can detain from them those treasures that enable them to make purchases of any sort! an injured and enraged nation, that have an undoubted right to reparation for the various depredations that they have committed on our fellow-subjects in and since the days of the glorious Elizabeth.

I would not be understood, that we ought really to put these things into execution; but it is my meaning, that though we made no restitution at all to the Spaniard, yet, when it is considered, that we can in a manner deprive them of subsistence, not only lock from them, but appropriate to ourselves, if we please, the whole of their American treasures; and, as lords of the ocean, even prevent them from spreading their sails on that enriching element: I say, these things considered, it will appear that our friendship is of infinitely more value to them, than this small privilege can possibly be to us; and the more so, as by one stroke of politics, they might

might prevent all advantages that could any ways arise to us therefrom ; namely, by prohibiting their subjects from making any purchase from those of Great Britain, and thereby throwing all the advantages of freight, &c. (admitting they still made use of British commodities) into the hands of the French and the Dutch.

In the few last preceding paragraphs I have considered *Spain* only, in these talked-of restitutions ; but what shall we say, my countrymen, if any concessions are intended, as is reported, in favour of *FRANCE*, with respect to the fishery ? But this can surely be *but* report ! because this step was held so hatefully unconstitutional in the reign of George I. (and surely what was *then* unnatural must be so *now*) that the Earl of Oxford was impeached, amongst other articles, for allowing the *French* some privileges on the banks of Newfoundland. Indeed, there have been treaties since, by which our perfidious enemies have been granted these advantages ; and on the strength of which example alone it is, that it is now so confidently asserted that those benefits are to be renewed to them. But these inconsiderate talkers should recollect, that it has been always the sense of the nation, that those privileges were against the interest of Great

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Britain, and that they could be warranted only by our never having it in our power, since the reign of Queen Ann to the present time, to grant to our enemies what peace we should think proper to prescribe.

Senegal and Goree are so closely connected together, the safety of the one depends so much on the other, that both of these fortresses must, in true policy, remain solely with us, or solely with them : and the gum-trade depending on the possession of these places (thereby commanding the trade of the adjacent countries) renders them an acquisition of too great importance to be parted with.

It may, indeed, be advanced, that this will throw the gum and slave trade, as far as it respects France as the purchaser, principally into the hands of the Dutch: but be it so. Those artful and self-interested people will make them pay high enough for those commodities, and we shall thereby gain, the only point indeed to be contended for, the inestimable advantage to our country of under-selling them in the chieftest of their manufactures. The author of the Royal Chronicle, or British Evening Post, (perhaps by much the most entertaining paper now published) on Friday the 19th instant

stant (November), judiciously remarks, the evident utility of Goree and Senegal, by acquainting us, that, before we possessed those places, we gave the Dutch for gums the enormous price of 13*l.* per hogshead ; and that since we made those acquisitions, we now import them ourselves at the small expence of 50*s.*—If this is not an evident proof of the advantages arising to us from those conquests, I know not what is !

Victorious in every part of the globe, it seems to me an indignity offered to this nation, as conquerors, to think of signing any peace with our vanquished foes, till they have made us (to use a term of their own) the *amende honorable*, by publicly acknowleging, to every court in Europe, that they were the aggressors ; and, without receiving the least provocation, the sole cause of the present war, and all its fatal and inhuman consequences.—Surely no impartial person can think this an oppressive reparation !—Yet no such equitable step appears to be taking ; notwithstanding a peace is said to be so near, that the rumours thereof are almost as loud as the murmurs of the people against it.

If the practices and customs of former ministers had been always esteemed a proper justification for the pursuance of the same

measures by present ones, the consequence must have been that none of our grievances had ever been redressed. Oppressive as the star-chamber and the court of high commission were, yet the ministers of Charles I. set up the same plea of example, and endeavoured to defend those destructive institutions by pleading that they were coeval with our constitution. The practice of arbitrary imprisonment is to be found in every period of history previous to the most inestimable act of *Habeas Corpus*. Reason, and the circumstances of the case, should be the only direction for public measures in all free governments; it therefore absolutely follows, that custom should never be pleaded in cases of national concern; but when the clamours of a people, in respect to any affair of universal importance, are loud and general, no step should be taken therein, that cannot be undone, till they are made perfectly acquainted, at least, with the out-lines, and thoroughly satisfied of their utility.

This premised, how comes it that when the public discontent is so universally great, no satisfaction is given to such a free and loyal nation, with respect to the terms offered by our enemies, and intended to be accepted by us? Why are the agents of our enemies treated with respect, and our enquiries answered

answered with silence and contempt? Why are our rendezvous broke up, and our war-like preparations in a manner at a stand, before we know on what considerations our friendship is to be purchased by our obstinate oppressors? Are we to sit down contented with the injuries which we have received, or are we to do more? Are we to restore what we have so dearly purchased in the long course of a just war, and grant to the injurers that reparation which is the right of the injured party only to insist on? Why are we left in this uncertainty on matters of such importance to us and our posterity?

Though the authors of the Auditor and the Briton have infamously wrote in support of the most despotic principles, yet I will not think they had any motive for it, but the false opinion that it would ingratiate them in the favour of a nobleman, who, I will venture to affirm, must be utterly averse to such an absolute system. I will not think that this seeming contemptuous taciturnity is the effect of Highland politics; I will not suppose that this complaisance to our natural rivals is the effect of that friendship that formerly subsisted between the royal house of France and the nobles of Scotland; I will not imagine that any of our Scots grandees interpose in favour of their antient allies, in

order to screen them from our just resentment: no, I will not ascribe this ill-boding phænomenon to any such causes—I am certain they could not a moment exist in a land of liberty like this. I will impute it only to a too implicit regard for custom, which requires but a minute's reflection to remove.

In all public embarrassments our ancestors ever had their eyes on the capitol; and those ministers that acted on the most prudent principles always conducted themselves by the opinion of her most respectable members. It is now happy, extremely happy for us, that this great city is so full of wise and understanding citizens, directed by a Common Council and board of Aldermen of such uncommon abilities, and well enabled by the most extensive intelligence to make a proper judgment of the situation of our affairs at home and abroad. Let us respectfully lay our griefs before this important body of patriots, propose to them our fears, and claim their interposition with their and our superiors, to lay before the people, without the least reserve, the subject of their apprehensions. Their interest is so strongly connected with ours, that we cannot doubt of their patronizing a cause of such importance to this commercial kingdom: and ours so firmly united with theirs, that I cannot doubt but every true-

true-born Englishman, every lover of his country, will heartily join in those measures that shall be judged, by this respectable body, necessary to preserve the nation from that reproach and confusion that must be the certain consequences of ill-managed negotiations, at so remarkable an æra ; the dreadful point of time, when England's honour and important existence must be firmly established, or for ever lost ! Let us candidly and decently communicate to each other our ideas on this interesting subject, conformably to the character we now bear of a free and polite nation ; let us manage our discussions with becoming attention, and execute our resolutions with that courageous ardour for which our ancestors have been so justly extolled.

I have hitherto, my countrymen, endeavoured to vindicate our rights and liberties as free-born Englishmen : I have shewn the power and consequence of the British nation, and the low condition to which its enemies are most deservedly reduced ; I have incontestibly evinced that we have it in our power, instead of *treating* and *negotiating*, to *dictate* a peace. Nevertheless, as it is consistent with the magnanimity of conquerors, and incumbent on us as a people of humanity, to put an end to a war so ruinous in its

its consequences to the race of mankind; and as it is possible the articles of the intended peace may not be rendered publick to the nation, till it is too late to retract, if any of them should afterwards be found incompatible with the publick interest, I shall lay before my countrymen a plan of such a peace as would vindicate our honour, yet leave our enemies possessed of more than their treacherous and inhuman conduct deserves.

Art. I. The French and Spaniards shall cede to Great Britain the whole of that part of North America which lies under and to the northward of the twenty-eighth degree of northern latitude, with liberty to us to settle on the whole of the lands so ceded, from sea to sea: and this boundary shall be settled by an equal number of French and English mathematicians, with an English president, who shall have the casting vote.

This honourable advantage is due to us as being the nation in whose favour providence has determined the appeal (as all wars should be such) to the tribunal of the Most High.

Art. II. The French and Spaniards shall cede to Great Britain the whole of that part of Florida lying to the eastward of the Mississippi

issippi or Ohio (for I regard these rivers but as one, the former being only a continuation of the latter) which shall be the western boundary of those parts of the British dominions (on that continent) which lay to the southward of the said twenty-eighth degree of northern latitude mentioned in Art. I.

Art. III. The French or Spaniards shall no where settle on North America, under or to the northward of the twenty-sixth degree of northern latitude.

Art. IV. The English, no more than the French or Spaniards, shall settle upon the lands that lay under the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh degrees of northern latitude.

Art. V. Notwithstanding the English, French, and Spaniards, shall not settle upon or inhabit the said lands lying under the said twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh degrees of northern latitude, nevertheless the English, from their settlements bordering on the North, and the Spaniards and French, from their settlements bordering on the South, of the said two degrees, shall have liberty of entering the same for the advantage of fishing, cutting wood, or any other purpose, provided neither party enter into the said two degrees farther than they shall be able

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to return back, to their said respective settlements, the day succeeding such entrance; and it shall not only be unlawful for either party to make any settlement on the lands under the said twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh degrees, but upon a search to be made for that purpose, by proper persons appointed by each party, throughout the said degrees (as far as they extend along the settlements of either) all houses, huts, or Indian wigwams, found under the said two degrees, shall be destroyed, and never rebuilt.

By the foregoing articles the intelligent reader will readily perceive that a much greater tract of land is left to our enemies in North America than they are entitled to, or could reasonably expect; and by the four last articles it will be easily seen, that all pretences to quarrels about boundaries will be utterly removed, as an uninhabited space of two degrees, or one hundred and twenty nautical miles, will divide and separate the settlements of Great Britain from those belonging to her enemies.

Art. VI. The Spaniards shall acknowlege, by writing in due form completed, our right to the log-wood trade, and lands on the Bays of Campeachy and Honduras, and the independency of our Indian allies there.

Art.

Art. VII. The French and Spaniards shall acknowledge our exclusive right to all the islands and bays of North America to the northward of the twenty-eighth degree of northern latitude, and to all the fisheries dependent thereon in the main, or on the shores, specially naming the islands of Cape Breton and Newfoundland.

Art. VIII. The French and Spaniards shall solemnly acknowledge the right of Great Britain to a free navigation in the gulph of Mexico, and river Mississippi.

The advantages arising to Great Britain from the three preceding articles are too obvious to be pointed out, and yet are so reasonable, that our enemies ought to have no peace without such concessions.

Art. IX. Great Britain shall guarantee to the house of Bourbon the two valuable islands of Hispaniola and Porto Rico, and the other possessions that shall be left to them in America by virtue of this treaty: and in consideration thereof, the French and Spaniards shall immediately evacuate the Portuguese territories, and indemnify that and the British crown for their expences in defending the kingdom of Portugal.

As we could take Hispaniola and Porta Rico whenever we pleased, the advantages of guaranteeing those two islands to our enemies will more than compensate for their evacuation of Portugal, even supposing they could conquer, and afterwards retain that kingdom.

Art. X. Belleisle shall be exchanged for Minorca, or the English shall retain Belleisle, and Minorca shall remain with France, at the option of the French king.

I am aware that some objection may be made to this article; but it may be necessary to pay some compliment to the French monarch; and there remains no doubt but the island of Minorca would be ceded to us, as being, by its situation, of less utility to France than that of Belleisle.

Art. XI. Great Britain shall for ever enjoy all her acquisitions in Africa, and the East and West Indies.

I hope I have already shewn the utility of this article, and that there is not a single true-born Englishman who can dissent therefrom.

Art;

Art. XII. The French shall renounce their guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, and solemnly engage never more to intermeddle in German differences.

This is the treaty whereby the present constitution of the Germanic body is established, and the rights and privileges of the several princes of that empire are definitely settled; and may not improperly be called the magna charta of Germany. France, by being one of the guarantees of that treaty, takes an opportunity, whenever differences arise in Germany, to set herself up for a judge, and marches large armies over the Rhine, in order to support that side which she thinks proper to favour: the constant consequence of which has been, that these quarrels, thus enflamed, and which otherwise might have been easily settled at the diet, or by amicable negotiations, have occasioned a vast effusion of blood and treasure in Europe; to the great annoyance of Christendom. France herself, if she were to reflect with humanity, and any degree of true policy, could not object to this article, as from these officious interpositions she has, from time to time, exhausted an immense quantity of treasure, and needlessly thrown away the lives of thousands of her bravest soldiers.

Art.

Art. XIII. The French shall fully indemnify the inhabitants of Hanover and Hesse, for all their damages sustained during this war.

Art XIV. The emperor, empress-queen, and elector of Saxony, shall engage for themselves, and allies, to vote, and use their influence in the diet, that the young prince of Hesse be declared an elector of the holy Roman empire; and that the bishopric of Münster, and its domains, shall be secularized and settled in the said elector and his heirs for ever, their possession being to commence at the death of the present elector of Cologne, now bishop of that See: or, if the present bishop will agree to resign, he shall be allowed the full sum of *20,000 l. per annum* sterling, during his life; and in case of a refusal of such resignation, that the prince of Hesse and his heirs shall receive the said sum during the life of the said bishop; and at that period be put into possession of the bishopric, so secularized as aforesaid:— the said *20,000 l. per annum* to be paid to either of the said parties by the court of France, as an indemnification for the great losses sustained by Hesse, thro' their means, during this war.

By this article no one power in Germany will be aggrieved, as the elector of Cologn is bishop of Munster, not by virtue of his first title, but by the suffrages of the chapter of Munster.

Art. XV. The kingdom of Bohemia, and consequently the vote thereof, shall be ceded by the empress-queen for ever to the king of Prussia, who shall be assisted, in case of refusal, by the courts of France, Spain, and England, to oblige the empress-queen to such cession. His Prussian majesty, on the other hand, shall renounce the vote of Brandenburgh for ever.

By this article his Prussian majesty will be rewarded for his fidelity, the Protestant interest in Germany greatly strengthened, the power of the house of Austria, and the Roman Catholic interest, proportionably retrenched, and the votes of the electoral college no ways increased.

Art. XVI. The whole of Silesia shall be ceded by the empress-queen to the king of Prussia; which, together with the Bohemian crown, and his other possessions within the empire, that he enjoyed at the commencement of this war, shall be guaranteed to him by the crowns of Great Britain, the emperor and empire, and the empress-queen.

Art.

Art. XVII. The elector of Saxony shall be restored to his electorate, but without indemnification for his losses, which shall be guaranteed to him by the guarantees in the preceding article.

By this article of restoring the elector of Saxony, it is intended that the empire be thereby, as near as the afore-mentioned alterations will admit, set on the same footing as at the treaty of Westphalia; at the same time having an eye to justice, by not indemnifying the elector of Saxony for his losses this war, on account of his being originally an aggressor, by his private association against Prussia with the empress-queen, the late empress of Russia, and the court of France.

Art. XVIII. It shall not be lawful for France, for ever hereafter, to have more ships of war of the line at one time than twenty, and the same number of frigates; and Spain shall be also circumscribed to the very same number.

The necessity and importance of this article are so obvious as to need no illustration.

Art. XIX. A full and perfect amity shall be restored between the three crowns of Great Britain, France, and Spain, and their respective

respective subjects shall trade, and entertain correspondence with each other, as they might have done at or before the commencement of hostilities.

Having laid before my countrymen a treaty of peace which I apprehend would be conformable to their desires, and highly advantageous to this kingdom; I shall now proceed to consider the articles which appeared first in the London Chronicle, and since in the rest of the public papers; the consequences of a separate peace with France and Spain; briefly support the plan I have laid down, and then conclude.

I think no *separate* treaty of peace between England, France, and Spain, would be honourable or advantageous to this nation; for must not our hands be tied up thereby from assisting our allies in Germany, equal to what their most emergent cases may require? and the prince whom our country has delighted to call its magnanimous ally, be detached, in part, from our interest, if not totally alienated from us? No treaty can be lasting, or agreeable to us, where France is permitted, under any conditions or restraints whatever, to nestle herself in the East Indies, or admitted to a share of our fishery. Conditions not to fortify at all, or to fortify

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in a stipulated manner, appear absurd and ridiculous, with a nation of such a flagitious character as that of our enemy. The fortifications of Dunkirk are a standing evidence of the insignificance of such agreements; and those now said to be proposed on that head, will only serve to give a fresh proof of French insincerity. On the contrary, the reasonableness of the articles which I have laid down is so very apparent, that hardly any objection can be foreseen to them. Nor does it appear to me possible to form a material alteration in them, without affording our insidious enemies an opportunity to rekindle the flames of war so soon as they have repaired their finances and marine, and transmitted to America and the East Indies such a number of soldiers as they shall judge sufficient to over-run our territories there, which in times of peace are mostly inhabited by mercantile subjects and farmers, who may be quickly subdued by so great a military body as the French king, even in those times, always keeps up wherever his dominions extend. We are therefore indispensably obliged, in order to prevent the ruin of our colonies on the continent, to drive them to such a distance from our subjects there, that there may be no room left for future quarrels, and consequently a future war.

And,

And, as I have shewn before, unless we retain the West Indian islands, we have no adequate reparation for the vast expence occasioned to our native country by the unmeasurable ambition of our foes. Thus we are called on by the voice of justice to retain those settlements, from which only we can draw a fund to pay those debts that were contracted for our self-defence. Mercy to ourselves and our posterity forbids us to allow the subjects of the house of Bourbon to approach any-where so near our people, as to have an opportunity again to harrais and oppress them.

The aspiring temper of the Bourbon family renders it absolutely necessary to keep our arms in our hands, till we have subjected them to such regulations as will ensure our own future peace and that of our posterity. If we leave Louisiana to the French, they will pour into it a greater number of soldiers than they have ever done yet; form stronger alliances with the numerous tribes of Indians that inhabit it; intermarry (as is their custom) with those tawny nations; convert those savages to their more savage faith; and at once, without giving us the smallest warning, break in on our unarmed and unsuspecting settlers, and, like an inundation, spread a rapid and unceasing destruction.

tion through all our continental American colonies. From their former errors, they'll learn a more cautious conduct, and show no dissatisfaction, till they are ready to strike. Thus they have ever used their own subjects the Hugonots; and thus, if they have it in their power, depend upon it, they will serve the subjects of Great Britain.

The writers in support of the articles which have appeared in the papers, and especially the Auditor, have greatly enhanced the importance of Canada, in order to make it appear, that the cession of that country is very highly to the interest of Great Britain; but (new as it may seem) I can affirm to my countrymen, that Canada is by no means so valuable in respect to its fur trade (notwithstanding it is its most staple commodity) as has been so universally propagated, and almost as universally believed. My reason is, because that that trade may be much more advantageously carried on from Crown Point and the lakes, the first for the northern, and the other for the more southerly traders, down the Mohawk and North Rivers, to the city of New York. This method has been already beneficially practised by us; and by this time might have been very importantly so, had not the great power of the French in Canada put a stop

stop to our carrying on the fur trade by that our now best, and then only channel.

That trade may be carried on more advantageously by the Mohawk and North Rivers, in the Province of New York, from the Lakes and Crown Point, as is well known to all persons that ever were in those countries. By those rivers, above-mentioned, and the Lakes, there is a shorter and more expeditious passage into the heart of those countries where the Indian fur-traders dwell, than by the river of St. Lawrence, whose navigation is very tedious and extremely dangerous; and that river too is often choaked up with ice, when the North River is free and open. The inhabitants of America are so sensible of this truth, that, on the reduction of Canada, the Mohawk river was instantly settled by Germans, quite northward up to Crown Point, who expect thereby to be situated in the great thoroughfare for the Indian fur-trade; and the lands bordering on the North River, which formerly were not worth above ten shillings the acre, through this circumstance, have risen to forty.

By this it must incontestably appear, that the districts of Quebec and Montreal, which we have conquered from the French, and which

which is all of Canada they can cede to us (the rest being in possession of independent Indians) is of so little importance to us, that it can only be considered in this treaty as a great waste, fit for the habitation of bears and wolves, thrown on us by necessity and the encroaching disposition of our enemies, which we must, for the sake of our colonies, take into our possession, in order to keep out of its boundaries a most perfidious and perverse set of men, worse by far than the most savage inhabitants of these dreadful wilds.

The treaty of Westphalia, as I have before expressed myself, is the Magna Charta of the German constitution; that capitulation between her emperor and princes, on which her civil and religious liberties depend; the fundamental contract that secures the toleration of the three religions in that empire, and circumscribes the imperial power. Of this treaty the French, as I observed in my plan of peace, are guarantees, which gives them a handle, whenever any difference happens in Germany, to interpose with an armed force for the pretended defence of liberties which she desires to see extinguished, and to preserve a constitution which she would be glad to annihilate.

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Such a resource might have been prudent while the house of Austria and the crown of France were at professed enmity. But now, when the court of Vienna cringes to that of Versailles, and a prince of the house of Bourbon fills the Spanish throne, there is, on the continent of Europe, no sufficient bulwark against the growing tyranny of France; nothing to oppose her influence; nothing to prevent her from spreading her power and commerce all over Europe, and burying the protestant religion with the liberties of Christendom.

Is it not evident, then, my countrymen, that now, whilst we have ability to do it, we should check the duplicity of perfidious France, and oblige her to renounce her guarantee of the constitution of Germany? If we neglect the interests of mankind, can we hope for the favour of the Father of all? Is it possible that our brethren in Germany can bleed by French chicanery and popish politics, and we not endeavour to avert the blow, which, through them, is levelled against the purity of our faith, and the liberty of the human race? No—If we are Christians, we must suffer when our brethren are wounded—If we are men, we must exert ourselves against the aspiring views of tyranny.—If we are Englishmen, we must humble the trampers upon human liberty—

and if we are patriots, commercial subjects, and desirous to promote the trade and prosperity of our country, we must level our rival in trade, our antient oppressor, and our constant and unwearied Foe.

In what other manner can we attain these high and important ends, but by utterly annihilating the French guarantee of Westphalia, and thereby removing every fallacious pretence in France to keep the peace of Germany (strange paradox !) by disturbing it.

And as there is nothing that can so much prevent the ill consequences of any future endeavour which our enemy may make to intermeddle with German differences, as the aggrandizing those families whose natural interest it is to oppose them, there can be no doubt of the justice of my proposal of raising the houses of Brandenburgh and Hesse to such a degree of power and importance as may enable them, with our assistance, to check the progress of any such attempt, as well as to form a protestant balance to the new catholic league * of France, Austria, and

* This league of the house of Bourbon with those of Austria and Saxony, to demolish that of Brandenburgh, and which gave rise to the present German war, is so very

and Saxony : that united popish confederacy that might, some time or other, render the civil and religious liberties of Europe extremely precarious, and spread over the world the power, the influence, and the commerce, of France.

From hence, I presume, it is evident to the people of England, that any peace, which is not equally advantageous to Great Britain with the plan of the treaty that I have now laid down, and which I have no certain reason to suppose will not be by the articles of the genuine one (my arguments arising not from the real plan, hitherto unknown to me, but from those which have appeared in the public prints) can scarcely be any other than an implicit surrender of the liberties of Europe, and a transfer (O worthy stockjobbers, allow me the expression !) of the commerce of Britain to the emolument of the ambitious Louis of Bourbon ; for, thereby, that aspiring house may possibly be put into such circumstances, as will, in a few years, enable her to give laws

very similar to the Catholic League, which was formed by France, the branch of Guise, and other popish powers, against the reformation in Germany, that it may be justly styled the New Catholic League ; for it consists, like that, of popish princes ; and is, like that, calculated to root out of Germany the protestant interest and religion.

to Europe.—Is it not then, my countrymen, if a peace like this cannot be obtained, infinitely more eligible to continue the war till our enemies are reduced to sue for terms dependent upon generous conquerors? A bad peace now would have much worse effects than could probably arise to us, in some years, from even an ill-conducted war, and fortune becoming also a firm ally to our enemies.

Ministers in a free state are the guardians of the nation; public trustees to secure her patrimony, and keep for her every acquisition, which, in the course of Providence, becomes the national Property, and appears her interest to preserve. The creatures of despotic lords can indeed dispose of the estates and persons of the subject as they please; but a limited administration should only govern and lay out for the public good what belongs to the public. They cannot lawfully divert it from that channel, much less dispose of it to an enemy. There is no officer in England superior to the laws, and consequently no servant of the state, within our country, that can legally dispose of those national acquisitions, which the welfare of the people requires to be annexed to the British crown, without the consent of the nation. Our conquests have been purchased by

by our arms and by our treasure ; by the toils and dangers of our fellow-citizens ; by their blood and by their death ; they are ours by the laws of war, by the aslenting voice of justice, and by the decree of the Most High.

The whole government, considered complexly, draws its authority from our common law ; and that law in no case authorizes trustees, guardians, or administrators, of any sort, whether they act for, or in behalf of, communities, or manage the estates of private persons, to alienate any thing under their care without the consent of the owners, or the decree of a court authorized to judge of such matters. Since this is the case in general for trustees or managers for others, can we suppose it lawful for the servants of the public to alienate any important property of the community, or give away at their pleasure the dearest blood and vitals of the nation ? No — Reason revolts against such a monstrous doctrine, and law condemns it as absurd and inadmissible.

Our constitution affords us various means to remove from our bowels the enemies of our peace. All great republics are, and ever were, by their constitutions, furnished with like implements of defence against the

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encroachments of the great. The Athenians had their law of Ostracism, whereby they banished from their territories the overgrown citizen, whose abilities and circumstances rendered him universally dreaded or generally suspected. That wise people justly concluded, that it was highly proper that the interest and prosperity of one family should be sacrificed to the peace and quiet of the whole state. For the same end the Romans had their proscriptions; and engraved on tables in the forum the names of those, who, by reason of public utility, were interdicted or forbidden the use of the air and water of their native country. Our ancestors, under like circumstances, secured themselves with attainders, and drove from England the great ministers whose power was used to break the peace, or disturb the tranquillity of their country. In some cases recourse was had to this extremity, without a previous trial; and, in others, this expedient was not brought on the stage till a trial had been attempted and found ineffectual; as in the cases of the Duke of Suffolk and the Earl of Strafford: Either way, this practice is equally justifiable. When in the natural body the amputation of a limb becomes necessary for the good of the patient, the surgeon that would hesitate or delay to cut it off, would be justly blamed. So in a body

a body politic, when the quiet and safety of the whole persuades the banishment or removal of a single person, or small junto, necessity and the good of the community justify the propriety of the measure. Nay, every virtue the suspected citizen is possessed of, makes him the more dangerous, if he should turn all his abilities against the country in whose bosom he was nourished.

Having so truly, and I hope candidly (tho' indeed very briefly) shewn the nature and power of the office, whose possessor is supposed to *guide* all our measures, as well as other matters relative thereto, let me calmly ask all the disturbers of the public tranquillity, what occasion there can be for such torrents of personal abuse as have flowed from the pens of our present writers, whether ministerial or antiministerial? If they had used their literary weapon as I have done, to shew the critical situation of the present moment, and, like me, given a voluntary and patriotic advice, thrown in their mite, in the great work of peace; I flatter myself that all good men would have praised them for the honesty of their intentions— But, as the case now stands, what salutary effects can they expect from vilifying and defaming? If the peace should be a bad one, the contrivers of

of it will no doubt be called to account for it by those under whose immediate cognizance it comes: If a glorious one, they will most certainly receive (what must exceed every other recompence) the thanks and plaudits of a great and grateful people, and their names be held in venerable remembrance to the latest posterity. The greatest man indeed may happen to err in his political judgment, and on that foundation alone it is that I now address my countrymen; but I must confess, that when I maturely weigh the honourable nature of the office of a prime minister (as far as any such post can be said to exist in this nation) and consider the punishment annexed to the crimes of bad one, I cannot believe, in an Æra glorious like this, that one now lives in this nation who does not consult the welfare of the people: Nay, under a King so truly British, I do not believe it is possible for one to breathe who is not, from the illustrious example of his Royal Master, in the most extensive degree, possessed with all the *furor* of the AMOR PATRÆ. To go even farther, I can scarce think it possible that there is a subject of this Realm, of any condition whatever, however mean in his situation of life, whether a native of South Britain, of North Britain, or elsewhere, who

who does not wish, and would not promote, to the utmost of his power and abilities, a most glorious and permanent peace: But, on the other hand, if any such secret and intestine enemy can possibly anywhere lurk in this kingdom, it is an axiom equally true in morals and in politics, **HAPPY IS THE HAND THAT CAN REACH HIS HEART WHO LABOURS TO UNDO HIS COUNTRY.**

London, Nov. 25. 1762.

F I N I S.



SEV CAN JHL